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A
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
NARRATIVE

OF *It will prove*
What happened in BENGAL,
In the YEAR 1760.

Consisting of

LETTERS from a Proprietor of *India* Stock,
to his Friend, a Proprietor;

As also

Some authentick PAPERS, which passed in the
Council at CALCUTTA, and give a Light into the
present Disputes.

Printed for C. BATHURST, at the Cross-Keys, Fleet-
Street, 1764.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE
NARRATIVE

OF
What happened in B. M. G. A.
In the Year 1801.

Containing of
Letters from a Proprietor of the Stock
to his Friend a Proprietor;

As also
Some unpublished Papers, which passed in the
Council at Calcutta, and give a Light into the
Project Disputes.

Printed for C. Barnard, at the Coffee House
Lane, 1801.

A
S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
N A R R A T I V E
O F

What happened in *Bengal*, in the Year 1760;

[Price Six-Pence.]

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T O T H E

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What happened in Bengal in the Year 1760.

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[2]

LETTERS

From a PROPRIETOR of

INDIA STOCK,

TO

HIS FRIEND in the COUNTRY,

A PROPRIETOR.

LETTER I.

SIR,

I AM not surprized at your desire to be informed of what passes in London, since the intelligence received from the East Indies. The alarm may reasonably be taken by the Proprietors of Stock, who are so nearly interested in the welfare of the Company. They have a right to enquire into causes

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which

which the world would insist upon knowing without such right: and even there, freedom of enquiry should not be restrained, where truth is our end, and candour the guide of our proceeding. Whoever should strive to prevent the public from being rightly informed, would as justly incur their censure, as he would merit their approbation by checking the rage of *aspersing private characters*, and the licentiousness of uttering misrepresentations without any delicacy, and falsehoods without any shame. The detail, by authority, given us in the papers of the 8th instant, might have reasonably quieted the minds of every Proprietor, since, if it had not come from the Company, it must be supposed they would have contradicted it; and if it had their sanction, it could not be contradicted by later advices than they had received, for none have come since. I take it therefore for granted, that the account was, as it is asserted, genuine; drawn from sources received by the *Lapwing*, and supported by vouchers in the custody of the authors. Unwilling as the Directors are to find the fault in their own servants, they are obliged to acknowledge an abuse of the authority of the Company,

pany, a violation of the just rights of the country government, and the endeavours of the Governor of Bengal to restrain measures, whose tendency he could not approve, and against the execution of which he failed not to remonstrate. The *event* is not the subject of dispute; but of the *causes* gentlemen chuse to express different opinions, and in language very different. It is certain that there were some conditions demanded of the Nabob, Sovereign of the country, which were offered with insolence, and refused with indignation. It is not known what were the inducements that urged Mr. *Ellis* to the attack of Patna, and the sacrifice of thousands of defenceless inhabitants. Indeed, there seem so many circumstances wanting to complete that history, that it were to be wished the curiosity of the public could stay till the arrival of the next ship, which might give us more particulars relating to the unhappy *Gentlemen* who were the first sacrifice to their own imprudence: but scarce any thing can be added to the fulness of the *Governor's protest*, by which he declares his resolution not to concur in such mistaken policy; by which declaration he must for ever stand acquitted of all the ill

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consequences

consequences resulting from an expedition planned with so little wisdom, and executed with so much violence and indiscretion. But it is said, " that his —— * led him to bring about a revolution soon after his appointment, which had not the least foundation in equity *, and was attended with many horrid circumstances, and gave great disgust." I take it, that the revolution in 1760 has nothing to do with the merits of the present dispute; and if it had, I remember the accounts of that time describe it as founded upon principles of natural right, effected without bloodshed, supported without clamour, received with applause, confirmed by authority, and productive of many national advantages.

In my next I may point out what farther has been told us of the causes of these commotions, and what answer occurs to the reasonings of some Gentlemen that have published their thoughts on this occasion. There is one however who remains unanswerable; it is the North Briton, No. 85, who attributes our calamities in the East " to the Scottish herd:" and he may be right for aught I can tell, for the North Briton is a deep

* See the Minutes signed A. B.

deep politician; he has discovered that the dangers of the Prince and Princess of Brunswick, on the seas, in such an inclement season, were owing to the Scottish herd. His praise too is as refined as his penetration; he extols "Lord Clive's kind of intuitive military merit, for beating the *Asiatics*," whose cowardice, he says, almost exceeds belief; "a score of them, he insists, will not look one European in the face." Gross flattery, even to Lord Clive's face; such as will not please his Lordship much, if the science of physiognomy be at all understood by

your most obedient servant,

Feb. 20, 1764.

A. X.

L E T.

LETTER II.

SIR, Feb. 21, 1764.

I Hasten to fulfil my promise: I shall defer the consideration of the Revolution in 1760, and endeavour to give you a clear description of the causes of the late commotions in the East Indies. I cannot do it in any way so properly as by an examination of assertions already advanced by others, and an attempt to weigh the truth of the Facts, and the solidity of Reasoning. A Gentleman quotes part of a Treaty, said to be made by the Governor of Bengal, and displays in Italics these words: "In case of any troubles or disputes happening, they, (our Factors and Agents) are to appear before the Officer of the Government, and have them settled by *his decision*". This alone, says the Author, was sufficient to ruin our affairs, if it had been once carried into execution. Let us now candidly reflect on the condition of the company's Trade in India, the original of its establishment, and the limits of its warrantable exercise (for it never was unbounded) and the encroachments made by the Company's servants,

wants, which must ever be distinguished from the rights of the Company, that were acquired by Purchase. The freedom of importing and exporting, clear of duties, was purchased by the Company from the Mogul: Care was at the same time taken to prevent the Country-government from being injured by frauds and false pretences of the Company's servants; repeated instructions have been sent to the servants of the Company, to avoid every occasion of umbrage, to restrain themselves within the bounds of their phirmaund, or grant, and not to communicate their privileges, or afford protection to the property of the Mogul's own subjects: Where these abuses have happened, and have been detected, the Company has frequently been obliged to make satisfaction to the Country-government, by the payment of large sums of money: Let it then be borne in mind, that there has always been a distinction between the *Company's Rights*, and the *assumed Commerce* of their servants, who have no title but the indulgence of their masters, who have not opposed themselves against such encroachments, so long as they have been conducted with any degree of decency, and have not appeared to draw after them

them any consequences subversive of the general interest, ruinous to credit, and threatening even the existence of the whole system of commerce. The Company's rights were never disputed by Cossim Alley Cawn, nor was there ever any attempt to infringe the Treaties subsisting between us; our military establishments were well supported, our commercial interests extended, even private emoluments of the Company's servants, beyond the Company's just rights, were permitted to grow and spread themselves; but still some revenues were necessary to the Sovereign, and some Share of trade was the birth-right of his subjects, who paid duties of 25 *per cent.* to the Country-government. When the Governor of Bengal went to *Mongeer*, he does not seem sufficiently to have considered the inconveniences which might result from an open avowal of the rights of private trade carried on by the Company's servants in articles heretofore deemed illicit; but pushed on by the disposition of the Gentlemen in Council, who, from the constant tenor of their conduct towards him, he had reason to believe would not easily be satisfied: in hopes, however, to quiet them, he settled with the Nabob, that

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the English private Merchants trading for themselves, should carry on their trade, at the small duty of 9 *per cent.* when, as we said before, the Nabob's own subjects were paying 25. How then will you be surprized, when I tell you, that one of the demands since made on the Nabob, was, that the Company's servants trading for themselves, should pay no duties at all, excepting 2 1-half *per cent.* on salt. The Nabob, upon receiving this unreasonable demand, said, he would then lay open all trade, that his subjects might be upon a footing with the servants of the English Company ; but this not answering the purpose of the Gentlemen then in opposition to the Governor, they carried in the Council against him (to which he entered his protest) a Resolution to send an embassy to the Nabob, insisting, that he should not only free *them* from all duties, but should still continue to levy the duties as usual upon his *own subjects*: The consequence of which must have been, that the servants of the Company, by selling *Dustics*, (or permits) to the subjects of the Nabob, would have collected the revenues arising from the duties which were the undoubted right of the sovereign; or else, by not selling the *dustics*, but keeping the trade intirely in their

own hands, would, of course, have excluded the most considerable *black Merchants*, and forcing them to some other part of the Country, where they could have carried on their trade on a more equal footing, must ultimately have ruined the Trade of the Company ; who would then have had no resource but purchasing from a few of their own servants, the commodities of the Country, at whatever price their servants would have pleased to set on them ; forming by this means a monopoly against their own Masters, in despite of their orders, and in open violation of the established principles of the service. You remember, Sir, at the beginning of this Letter we took notice of an article in the Treaty, said to be made by the Governor ; it is quoted above, and is asserted to be of itself sufficient to “ ruin our affairs, and to be a power we do not yield even in regular European governments, neither in Portugal or Russia.” It would be pleasant upon this occasion, Sir, to quote the names and authorities of *Puffendorf*, *Grotius*, *Cocceius*, *Roccus*, and other Writers on the Privileges of Commerce, and the Law of Nations, and to shew by learned arguments, that, wherever there is a Sovereign, he has a right to duties and excise ; and where these are laid, there must

must be Collectors; and where they subsist; it is natural to think, there must also be disputes, which can never, on such occasions, be settled, but by the Magistrates of the Country where such disputes arise. And this, we may venture to say, is conformable to the practise of every *civilized* country in the world. In *conquered* countries the Government rests on the *Conquerors*, and they receive the duties from the subjects and territories they claim. The assertions of our Author are calculated for the meridian of North America, and will not there be disputed. We cannot dismiss this Writer without taking notice of his assertion, "That the Governor of Bengal was forced to acknowledge the impropriety of the Treaty he had made." Had he committed any errors, it would have been a mark of his ingenuity to acknowledge them; but neither are the errors proved, nor are we indulged with his confession. The Governor of Bengal says, that the treaty was ill-kept, and that "the regulations prescribed by the treaty, if they were strictly observed by *both parties*, would, he thinks, remove all occasions of complaint on *both sides*. Our Author might have put in his claim to candour, by giving us his thoughts on the abuses committed by each of the Parties.

It being therefore certain, that the unreasonable demands were relative to the most important point, that is, to the Trade of the Country, I cannot but think that we should be guided in our opinions by the justice of the case, and the evidence of the facts, and not "by the characters of any Gentlemen, tho' standing in the fairest point of view," especially as our Author, to support his assertions upon a matter of commerce, chuses to quote personages not concerned in trade, because, as it should seem, they have no experience in these matters; for he strengthens himself by saying, "that Major *Adam* and Major *Carnac*, Gentlemen whose characters stand in the fairest point of view, and who *were perfectly disinterested* as to commerce, were of the same opinion."

A. X.

L E T

L E T T E R III.

S I R,

Feb. 23.

I SHOULD now, agreeably to my promise, endeavour to describe to you the circumstances of the Revolution in Bengal in 1760. If I am not qualified to explain this transaction so well as some Gentlemen then present, yet at least I have had correspondence in that Country, and have frequently had in my possession original papers of importance relating to India affairs. I should therefore for your satisfaction have undertaken the task, if I had not good reason to hope, from the accounts already published, and others expected, that You and the Public might be gratified in your laudable inquiries. In forming your judgments upon the degree of regard due to the respective performances, give me leave to suggest, that the relations of that Transaction heretofore printed claim the first place, because they did not make their appearance to serve the purposes of the General Court *next Monday*; and have stood the test of two or three years. Almost equal honor should be paid to such Authors as,

being well informed of things, have vouched for them at the expence of their own names and credit : There must be an exception or two to this latter rule : If a Pamphlet favours too strongly of private interest, or if it be *advertised* to be given Gratis &c. &c. — But more important considerations seem to bear very hard on a Letter printed for T. Becket, price one Shilling. It imports by its Title, that it came from Gentlemen of the Council at Bengal, and is addressed to the India Company Committee in England. Who would not think that it had come in the regular way ; that it had been presented in proper time at the Board of Council at Calcutta, where it might have had due consideration ; where objections might have been answered, and where measures proposed might have been well weighed ; where the Governor might have had opportunity to defend Himself against the aspersions which for many months had been collecting against him ? You might think, that it was written soon after the Revolution, and forwarded to England by the first opportunity ; that it was presented publicly here, and came by authority from Calcutta ; that it only contained reasons against

against an old Revolution, not Proposals for a new one. Let us now strip off the mask from it.

It was drawn up a year and a half after the Revolution happened, never presented at the Board, at Calcutta, sent by a private hand to England, must needs have come too late to do any good, was kept close for a convenient opportunity to do harm, attacks the propriety of a Revolution which had left the Company's affairs in a flourishing state at Bengal, and proposes an Expedition to Delhi *, 800 miles farther up the country, which, right or wrong, might have been carried into execution, if the Company at home would have given them absolute and uncontrollable Commission, crediting the account, which these Gentlemen give of the Company's servants, unheard in an extrajudicial accusation. From the spoils of the Country, what advantages might have resulted to the Company we do not know; some probably would have fallen to the share of the Gentlemen who

Signed

* It is the Capital of the Mogul.

MINUTE

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Signed

John D. Campbell of the Navy

MINUTE

[21]

A.
M I N U T E
O F
C O N S U L T A T I O N ,

12 January 1761.

THE Governor, Col. Caillaud, and the other Gentlemen of the Council, who did and do approve of the late Transactions with the Country-government, beg leave to offer a few observations. upon Mr. Amyatt's Minute of last Consultation, the tenor of which might deceive the world, if not examined ; but, when examined, will be found to have little foundation.

If the select Committee, debating upon the dangerous state of the affairs of the Province, in August and September last, had been desirous of breaking with the then Nabob Jaffer Ally Cawn, there were reasons enough to justify,

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may to urge, such a Resolution. The letter which the former Governor, Mr. Hollwell, laid before the select Committee the * 4th of August, for the Information of Mr. Van Sittart, then just arrived, contains more than sufficient proofs of that Nabob's breach of his engagements to the Company. Many instances are mentioned of his jealousy of the English Power, and of his refusal of every favor that was asked, that might tend in the least to increase it. We have in our hands an authentic Proof of one most essential instance of his ill Faith therein mentioned. It is said in the Treaty, that our enemies should be his enemies; but it is beyond doubt that he urged the Dutch to send for forces to oppose to ours. We have an original Letter of the Directors to the Nabob, which plainly implies, that it was with his consent those troops were sent for; and the tenor of the general advices transmitted to Europe last season sufficiently shew this was Colonel Clive's opinion, though he mentioned it with all possible tenderness.

* See the said letter entered in the proceedings of the select Committee, the August

Nor

Nor if we had desired to remove Jaffer Ally Cawn from his government, need we have done more than withdraw our protection. His government would soon have been put an end to, and probably his life also, which was more than once in extreme danger from his own people.

But mindful of the connections that had been between him and the Company, we had the most tender regard both for his Person and Government, neither of which could have subsisted without other supports, than those he had about him. After the unfortunate death of his son, his son-in-law Cossim Ally Cawn was the proper person to succeed to the government, and being his nearest relation, it was thought his counsel and assistance would be the least obnoxious; but if on the other hand, he should prove determined to admit of no one near him, and continue to refuse every Application for the Advantage of the Company, or even common justice in the performance of past agreements, would it have been expedient to sacrifice the Interests of the Company, and the prospect of relieving the Province from its distressed state, to the invincible jealousy of one man; and might we not with more reason place our past services in

the scale against the benefits received from him, and pursue with steadiness the plan determined on, as most for the welfare of the Country in general, and the Company in particular?

That Cossim Ally Cawn had views of the Subadarree for himself, when he entered into the Treaty with us, is beyond all doubt; but they were views in reversion, not immediate. In the mean time he engaged, that, through the influence we were to give him over the Old Nabob, he would obtain for the Company the grants therein mentioned.

But it is insinuated in Mr. Amyatt's Minute, that our affairs are in a worse condition now, than before the change of government. That the addition of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittegong to the Company's possessions, without the loss of aman, is a hurt to the Company, seems to us a Paradox. It is said, that it is near three months since the Revolution was effected, and yet there is no appearance of extricating ourselves from the Difficulties; and that the great advantages expected to accrue from these Countries, it is feared will prove merely imaginary. It is only twenty days since the Burdwan Vakeel came here and settled the payment. This day is the first payment due, and although the Rajah's Faith is not to be

be depended on, yet it is probable he will pay the money according to the agreements, to make his peace. If not, the Country is worth that and more money, and lies so convenient, that it can always be disposed of as we see best.

As to Midnapore, it is not a month since Captain White took possession; he had no orders to collect money.—Mr. Johnstone is appointed for that purpose: but set out so lately, that his arrival is not yet heard of.

As for Chettigong, Mr. Verelst, and the other Gentlemen appointed, set out only twenty days ago. We must give them time to arrive before we can expect to collect money.

Surely here is a fair prospect of advantages accruing to the Company; and of present benefits instances may also be mentioned.

The payment of the arrears due to the English troops at Patna, and of what we advanced to the Nābob's troops.

An assistance to the Company of five Lackes, which Mr. Batson at Cossimbuzar is now receiving.

Leave granted for coining Muxadavad Siccas in our Mint, which was before confined to Calcutta Siccas.

Who

Who would there have been to oppose the march of the Beerboun Rajah to the capital of Moorshedavabad; for the Old Nabob had neither the means of making his own troops take the field, nor would he trust the English?

Where would the Nabob's troops at Patna have got a supply of seven or eight lacks of Rupees, as the present Nabob has paid them since his coming to the government?

We believe no one will pretend, that the Old Nabob would or could have made such efforts, or would have granted such favors to the Company. As to the Mogul's Phirmaund, there was a time when the order of Delly had some weight at Bengal; but that time is no more. It is hard to say, who is King at Delly, or who will be; but if ever it comes to be settled, there is as little doubt of Cossim Ally Cawn's getting a Phirmaund, with as much ease as one was procured for the Old Nabob, who never paid the King his share of the revenues.

It is asserted, that the Ministers complained of under the Old Nabob have received marks of favour from the present Nabob. Two of them have received the compliment of a Ke-laal (or dress) upon the adjustment of their
I account;

accounts ; but are in no employment or trust. If they were, it would not be in their power to do now the same injuries to the Company and the Country as they did in the Old Nabob's time, because the present Nabob would not be so easily led or give ear to their evil counsels as his predecessor. It is asserted also, that the present Nabob has been guilty of some assassinations. This the governor believes is a false report; he declares, that he had not before heard of any such proceeding, although he has pretty good intelligence of what passes, and that he has enquired particularly since he saw it so positively asserted, and has great reason to think it is an unjust accusation. 'If it should prove true, we should not so easily excuse a crime so shocking, nor think of it so lightly, as it is represented in Mr. Amyat's minute.

That Mr. Smyth should subscribe to this opinion, is not to be wondered at, because he subscribed to one of the like nature of Mr. Verelst's in consultation the 8th. November, without having read any of the proceedings. But that Mr. Ellis should subscribe to it, after signifying his approbation of the measure in many letters, that have been wrote on the subject, and particularly in that from the select Committee to the Governor and Col. Caillaud,

dated

dated the 24th of November, is somewhat surprising, and gives fresh reason to apprehend, what has been long suspected, that other persons, not in the Company's service, nor having any regard for the Company, are consulted upon affairs which do not belong to them, by which, unfortunately they gain an ascendancy over the minds of better men than themselves; and this authority they exert to the utmost, to the purpose of making divisions in the Settlement, and more particularly in the Council. It is only such pens as those, that can reflect upon the late measures, as a breach of *all ties both human and divine*; a reproach which nothing can merit but a premeditated intention to do some great ill.

It were to be wished in dissents of this nature, that the reasons for the measures formed were considered in their full extent; the situation of the Company at home, and the situation of their affairs in general throughout India well weighed. All these in as full manner as possible were laid before the board, and our necessities and wants so plainly appeared, that all members present were satisfied and convinced, that, unless some other measures were pursued, we could not keep up the cause any longer. It is plain, that what was proposed

to be done was rather the effect of necessity than choice, and what followed was certainly as unexpected. It was therefore impossible that Mr. Amyat could be made acquainted with a design, that never existed. Those, to whose consideration it fell, were unanimous in their opinion; and they flatter themselves that all who will take into their view the then state of affairs, the nature of the resolutions taken, and all the circumstances attending this transaction, and will judge thereupon with candor, not suffering themselves to be biased by the prejudices of others, will do us more justice; and be far from calling in question our sense of the Faith of Treaties, or our regard for the nation's honor and our own.



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THE Governor lays before the Board a Letter from the Nabob, received last night, with an Order in the Fouzedar of Hougly, for twenty-five thousand Rupees therein-mentioned to be sent as a present of congratulation from the Nabob to the Governor, on occasion of the late birth of his son. Mr. Van Sittart declares himself equally sensible of the Nabob's compliment; but as he rejected for himself and the other Gentlemen of the Committee all former proposals of private emolument, and has not to this time received a single rupee from him, so neither will he, while there is a Difficulty remaining, with respect either to the company's ballance, or the arrears due to his own troops. He desires, therefore, that the said sum of twenty-five thousand rupees may be received into the Company's Treasury, in further part of payment of the out-standing balance.

F I N I S.